OBSERVATIONS ON THE RELIGION, LAW, GOVERNMENT, AND MANNERS, OF THE TURKS.

VOL. I.

by Sir James Porter.

——*fas ſit mihi viſa referre.* OVID. Ep. xvi.

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ERRATA.

Notes, Page 54. *Inſtead of* in the Turkiſh courts by Haniſa,—*read*, in the Turkiſh courts, written by Hafne.

Line 5. p. 62. *Inſtead of* he therefore very artfully framed it after the prototypes of truth,—*read*, he therefore very artfully took for its prototype, truth itſelf—the Moſaic and Chriſtian revelations.

Line 2. p. 64. *Inſtead of* the viſiting of the Moth; *read*, the viſiting of the morn.

Page 101. Note to be added—The *Boſtangi Paſha* always ſteers the Sultan's boat; he is the chief of the *Boſtangees*, or gardeners, who, on occaſion, form a conſiderable military corps. The *Selictar Aga* is the Sultan's ſword-bearer, and conſtantly attends him.

Page 113. in the laſt line, *for* Mehemet Ragib *read*, Ragib Mehemet Paſha.

OBSERVATIONS, &c.

CHAP. I.

The Difficulty of obtaining information in Turky.—Character of the Turks.

WRITERS who never ſtirred out of their own * country, and travellers who have run † over immenſe regions with haſty and tranſitory pace, have given us long ac-

* Thevenot, librarian to the French king, was never out of Europe. Gemelli Carreri, a Neapolitan gentleman, who, for many years, never quitted his chamber, during a long indiſpoſition, amuſed himſelf with writing a voyage round the world; giving characters of men, and deſcriptions of countries, as if he had actually viſited them.

† Tournefort, Paul Lucas, Pocock, &c.

counts of various countries and people; evidently collected from the idle report and abſurd tradition of the ignorant vulgar, from whom only they can have received thoſe relations, which we ſee heaped together with ſo undiſcerning a credulity.

The Turks have abundantly ſhared this treatment: without taking notice therefore of what even the moſt correct writers may have ſaid, I ſhall throw out, ſo far as reached my own knowledge, ſome ſhort obſervations and general ſtrictures on the religion, law, government, and manners of that people. If what I advance has no other merit, it will at leaſt have that of being ſtrictly true.

It is extremely difficult to come at information in Turky; enquiries give diſ-

diſguſt. The Mahomedan law is ſo ſtrict and poſitive, that it confines, and binds the underſtanding of its ſectaries within the narrow limits of what the *Koran* teaches; and renders them inconverſible with the reſt of mankind; eſpecially on the ſubject of religion, or of their own cuſtoms. Strangers who do not, and cannot perfectly underſtand the language, muſt converſe by interpreters; but theſe dare not enter into enquires they think will give the leaſt offence: on theſe ſubjects therefore, they never do, nor will interpret; if put to it, evaſion is their refuge, and both the queſtion they make, and anſwer they return you, will be merely their own.

It may then be aſked, how are we to be informed in Turky? I muſt anſwer, very imperfectly. A long and

continued practice in that country, many connections and dependencies amongſt different ranks of people, may, by mere chance, lead us to ſome truth; but certain it is, that we have hitherto very imperfect accounts of their religion or of their manners.

To trace correctly the mere outline of any national character, is, I am ſenſible, a difficult taſk; of the Turks it is peculiarly ſo: I ſhall nevertheleſs make the attempt.

The Turks are in general a ſagacious, thinking people; in the purſuit of their own intereſt, or fortune, their attention is fixt on one object, and they perſevere with great ſteadineſs until they attain their purpoſe. They are in common life ſeemingly obliging and humane, not without appearances of

of gratitude: perhaps all or either of theſe, when extended towards Chriſtians, are practiſed with a view of ſome advantage. Intereſt is their ſupreme good; where that becomes an object of competition, all attachment of friendſhip, all ties of conſanguinity are diſſolved; they become deſperate, no barrier can ſtop their purſuit, or abate their rancour towards their competitors. In their demeanor they are rather hypochondriac, grave, ſedate, and paſſive; but when agitated by paſſion, furious, raging, ungovernable; big with diſſimulation; jealous, ſuſpicious *, and vindictive beyond

* The Zonanas, famous Jews, reſiding at Conſtantinople, are purveyors to the whole body of Janiſſaries throughout the empire; receive all their monies, ſupply them with all neceſſaries, advance caſh to their (*a*) *Agas*, to all their officers, and even to the common men.

(*a*) Generals—or commandants.

conception; perpetuating revenge from generation to generation. In matters

The father of the preſent Zonana had the ſame employment; he lived to a very advanced age, in high reputation, and had acquired great weight and influence with that turbulent, formidable corps. Tiriacki Mehemet Paſcha, who, in 1746, had the ſeals conferred on him as Vizir, raiſed himſelf from a low beginning: two and twenty years before he attained his dignity, he was an ordinary *Katib*, or ſcribe, to that militia; at which time, on ſome diſpute of intereſt with Zonana, he declared, with violent aſſeveration, that if he ever had it in his power, Zonana's ſhould be the firſt head he would ſtrike off: in effect, he had been but a few days Vizir, before he executed his purpoſe; time could not mitigate his revenge; he took the old man's head off even at the riſk of his own ſecurity; for ſo great was the affection the Janiſſaries bore Zonana, it was thought this act of violence might cauſe a rebellion.

Turks have been known to come from the frontiers of Perſia into Aſia minor, and Thrace, to revenge the death of a grandfather, uncle, or couſin, many years after the offence has been committed; it is uſual for the parent to remind his child, the uncle his ne-

of

of religion, tenacious, ſupercilious, and moroſe.

phew, of any injury their family or relations have ſuffered, and excite them continually to revenge. I wiſh it were not true, that in many of the Greek iſlands, among thoſe who call themſelves Chriſtians, the ſame practice was not prevalent.

The chriſtian *Drugomen*, or interpreters, are uncommonly generous to the meaneſt, the moſt indigent Turk, treating them with deference and politeneſs: when the reaſon is aſked, they tell you, they have ſeen ſo many, from the very loweſt, riſe to the higheſt ſtations, that it is neceſſary to guard againſt their revenge; in truth they fear them; education and obſervation lead them to it.

CHAP. II.

Of the Mahomedan religion—and the pilgrimage to Mecca.

AMONG the many ſingular and whimſical conceits of a * modern writer, we meet with pertinent remarks and ſhrewd obſervations, not always indeed merely his own; he tells us, " that " to judge properly of a religion, we " muſt not take it from the books of " thoſe who profeſs it; we muſt ſee " how it is practiſed in a country " where it is eſtabliſhed, to know what " it is; we ſhall there find it a very " different thing: each has its traditions, peculiar interpretations, cuſtoms, prejudices; theſe make the " very eſſence of their faith, and theſe

* J. J. Rouſſeau, Em. liv. iv.

" muſt

" muſt be combined with what their " books profeſs, before we can be able " to judge of it."

To aſcertain, therefore, the true ſpirit of Mahomedaniſm, we muſt appeal to an impartial obſervation, of the real influence it has on the practice of its followers.

The Mahomedan belief at firſt ſight appears extremely ſimple: what they firſt require from a proſelyte to their religion, is ſolely the repetition of a ſhort creed: *Allah il Allah, Muhamed reſoul Allah*; that is, " There is but " one God, and Mahomet is his pro- " phet." He is then confirmed by ablution and a ſhort prayer, and thus received into the number of true believers. Circumciſion generally follows.

Hence

Hence ſome have pretended, and many might be led to think, that it is a religion by no means claſhing violently with reaſon; the great baſis on which it is founded, being the unity of the Deity.

But this plauſible initiation is only a firſt ſtep, from whence the convert muſt plunge into the belief of all the abſurdities of the *Koran*, every article of which he muſt receive as revelation from God, written in heaven, and ſent down by the Almighty in mercy to his choſen people; he muſt firmly believe that repeating this revelation ſo many times a year, obſerving rigorouſly the faſt of *Ramazan*, performing ablutions * on different parts of the body,

* A *Reis Effendi*, or ſecretary of ſtate, reputed of great ability and learning, ſent for a chriſtian *Drugoman*, or interpreter, on very ur-

care-

carefully extending them to certain exact ſpaces and critical proportions; going the pilgrimage to Mecca; drinking a potion of water, in which their prophets old robe † has been dipt; repeating ſome, or the whole, of the ninety-nine names of the different attributes of the Deity, on a ſtring of ninety-nine beads; are all devotional duties, ſo eſſentially neceſſary to a true believer, that without them the pureſt heart and the ſincereſt faith are inſufficient to recommend him to divine fa-

gent buſineſs; he attended, and found the ſecretary deeply engaged in diſpute with his ſon-in-law on the important queſtion, to what exact height their hands or arms, feet or legs, ſhould be waſhed, to render themſelves truly acceptable to God?

† The Grand Signor is guardian of this robe, he himſelf diſtributes the water annually after the *Beiram*, in ſmall phials to all his courtiers, and they to their followers and friends.

vour;

vour; theſe practices he likewiſe holds to be the efficacious and the indiſpenſible means, by which to atone for all his crimes and immoralities.

Such abſurdities might be looked on, as inventions contrived by Mahomet, merely to amuſe and catch his ignorant and ſimple followers. They would indeed be of little conſequence to the moral order of the world, if the concluſions drawn from them by the Turks, were not, in the higheſt degree, injurious to the reſt of mankind: for, hence they deduce, that all who are not of their belief, and embrace not the doctrines of their prophet, are * objects of Divine vengeance and abhorrence; conſequently, of their deteſtation, on whom they are to exerciſe violence, fraud, and rapine.

* Koran, Sale's Edit. chap. iii. p. 50. chap. v. p. 83.

The force and efficacy of this principle operates ſo effectually, that Mahomedans are ever ready to demonſtrate their zeal by ſpurning on the perſons, raviſhing the property, and even deſtroying the very exiſtence of thoſe who profeſs a different religion. Aſk them; let them be candid and ſpeak plain, they will frankly confeſs, that ſuch is their duty, ſo they are commanded, and that they are convinced it is moſt meritorious in the ſight of God and his prophet.

Their ſuperior thirſt for gold is the potent preſervative of thoſe Chriſtians and Jews who live amongſt them. Theſe are an inexhauſtible treaſure to government; a ſource conſtantly flowing to ſupply the wants of multitudes, even of the powerful and the ambitious: hence therefore, religious tyranny and

and the inveterate prejudice of enthuſiaſm, are in ſome ſort ſubdued and vanquiſhed.

THE firſt effort of Mahomedan education is to root deep in the minds of their children, a high contempt of all other religions; from babes they are carefully taught to diſtinguiſh them by the opprobrious name of *Giaur*, or Infidel.

THE habit becomes ſo forcible by the time they are men, that they can uſe no other term; they follow them with it in every ſtreet, and will often affect puſhing againſt them with the utmoſt contempt.

MEN of dignity, or thoſe of a rank above the populace, behave with ſeeming courteſy and complaiſance, though often

often with a ſort of ſtern ſuperiority; but you are ſcarce diſmiſſed, however civilly, before they will honour you with the high title of *Dumus*, or hog, the animal they hold the moſt odious, deteſtable, and impure of the whole creation.

TAKE the moſt miſerable Turk dependant on a Chriſtian, one who lives by him, would ſtarve without him; let the Chriſtian require of him the ſalute of peace, the *Salem Alek*, or, "Peace be with you," he would ſooner die than give it; he would think himſelf abominated by God, and that his prophet would look down on him with indignation as an infidel and apoſtate; it is reſerved ſolely for Muſſulmen, true believers. The utmoſt they dare ſay, and many of them think it ſaying too much, is *Chair olla*, "Good be with you."

THEY

They are enjoined by their religion to extend it by making converts; and to preſs all thoſe of any other, at leaſt three times to embrace it. Some affect a forcible and unbecoming zeal; others more moderate, content themſelves with a mere formal requiſition; but either of them will change their tone, according as they conceive the perſon they addreſs may be uſeful to them or not.

They cannot reject the moſt abject or * wicked mortal, who offers to become a true believer, though they know his crimes, and that he is wholly ignorant of what their belief conſiſts in.

† The real worth of *paſhawlycks*, or governments, are in proportion to the

* A profeſt and notorious murderer, ignorant of their language.

† Between Conſtantinople and Angoura, in number

number of the Chriſtian inhabitants, becauſe the paſhaws may with them indulge all their luſt of power, their zeal and avarice; tyrannize, harraſs, oppreſs, and ſuck their very vitals; from them they fear no complaints.

Aſia Minor, above three or four hundred villages have been, in a ſpace of years, abandoned by their Chriſtian inhabitants. About Aleppo, and other parts of Syria, greater numbers, much later, have been deſerted. Theſe miſerable Chriſtians do not quit the empire, but emigrate into cities, or wherever elſe they imagine themſelves leſs expoſed to oppreſſion and diſtreſs.

It is but a few years ago, that all the Greek inhabitants of the Morea joined in an *Arz mahzar*, or general repreſentation, againſt their paſhaw; the oppreſſion and extortions were enormous: the paſhaw brought the Turkiſh inhabitants for evidences in his favour; and though he had ruined a multitude of Greeks, their complaints were not the immediate cauſe of his removal.

Hence it is, that the moſt opulent Greeks ſecure their property, and often their perſons, at Venice: numbers of them are always reſident there.

But they cheriſh and ſpare thoſe of their own religion: and they, when any Chriſtian repreſentations of a Paſhaw's miſconduct reach the Porte, are ſure evidence in his favour.

But ſuch evidence, though it ſerves the turn, is believed by nobody; facts are evident and inconteſtible: reſide at Conſtantinople, obſerve the continual fear Chriſtians and Jews live in; the means they uſe to obtain protection from the Turks in power; the enormous villanies they ſeem under the neceſſity of perpetrating on each other, as the price of that favour; the wrongs, violences, and inſults they are daily labouring under, and obliged paſſively to bear; you will thence form a true idea of Mohamedaniſm, and a juſt eſtimate of the influence it has on the manners of its votaries.

THERE is no command in the *Koran* more energetic, nor held in greater reſpect by Muſſulmen, than the pilgrimage to Mecca. A *hadgi*, or pilgrim is always reckoned regenerate; he who has not been there, laments, he deplores his own ſituation in life, which has not permitted him to perform this duty; and is anxious for the ſtate of his ſoul. This pilgrimage is, indeed, the main baſis of Mahomedaniſm; for whoever performs it methodically, and omits not any part, is confident he recommends himſelf effectually to the favour of God, that he is abſolved from all ſin, and rendered permanently acceptable to him.

SINCE, therefore, an exact account of all a Turk performs at Mecca, muſt give us as true an idea of the Mahomedan religion, as if we beheld their

practice; this pilgrimage being their main route to ſalvation; I ſhall exhibit a ſhort hiſtory of it, extracted from the journal of a true Muſſulman, who ſeems to have noted down every part as ſoon as he had performed it.

'After the month of their faſt, or 'the *Ramazan*, the caravan of Damaſ-'cus, compoſed of the pilgrims from 'Europe and Aſia Minor, the Arabi-'an, and the principal one from Cai-'ro, ſet out for Mecca. They all have 'their ſtated time of departure, and 'their regular ſtages. That from Cairo 'begins the journey thirty days after 'Ramazan; and the conductors ſo re-'gulate each day's march, that they 'arrive in forty days; that is, juſt be-'fore the *Corban*, or great *Beiram* of 'ſacrifice.

'Five

'FIVE or six days before that feſti-
'val, the three caravans, conſiſting of
'about 200,000 men, and 300,000
'beaſts of burthen, unite and encamp
'at ſome miles from Mecca.

'THE pilgrims form themſelves into
'ſmall detachments, and enter the
'town to perform the ceremonies pre-
'paratory to that great one of ſacri-
'fice. They are led through a ſtreet
'of continual aſcent, until they arrive
'at a gate on an eminence, called the
'Gate of Health; from thence they
'ſee the great moſche, which encloſes
'the houſe of Abraham; they ſalute
'it with the profoundeſt devotion,
'repeating twice, *Salem Alek Iruſoul*
'*Alla*; that is, "Peace be with the
"Ambaſſador of God." 'Thence,
'at ſome diſtance, they mount up five
'ſteps, to a large platform faced with

'ſtone, where they offer up their pray-
'ers. Then they deſcend on the other
'ſide of it, and advance towards two
'ſimilar arches, at ſome diſtance from
'each other, which they paſs thro' with
'great ſilence and devotion. This cere-
'mony muſt be performed ſeven times.

'FROM hence they proceed to the
'great moſche which encloſes the houſe
'of Abraham; enter the moſche, and
'walk ſeven times round the little
'building contained within it; ſay-
'ing, "This is the houſe of God,
"and of his ſervant Abraham;" then
'kiſſing with great reverence* a black

* This ſtone, our Muſſulman tells us, fell from heaven, accompanied with a voice, ſaying, "Wherever this ſtone falls, there you muſt "build the houſe of God, and from that houſe "he will hear the prayers of ſinners." That on its deſcent it was as white as ſnow, and is become black from the touch of ſuch a number of ſinful lips; for the pilgrims are obliged to

ſtone,

' ſtone, ſaid to be deſcended white
' from heaven, they go to the famous
' well called † *Zun-Zun*, and plunge
' into it with all their cloaths, continu-
' ally repeating *Toba Alla*, *Toba Alla*,
" Forgiveneſs God, Forgiveneſs God."

' They then drink a draught of that
' fetid turbid water, and depart.

' The duty of bathing and drinking
' they are obliged to paſs through once;
' but thoſe who will gain paradiſe be-
' fore the others, muſt perform it once
' a day, during the ſtay of the caravan.

' At fifteen miles from the town of
' Mecca, there is a hill, or ſmall
' mountain, called *Ghiabal Arafata*, or,

kiſs it, otherwiſe they cannot be cleared of their ſins.

† This well the angel ſhewed Agar when ſhe was diſtreſſed in the deſert, and found no water for her ſon Iſhmael; it is called by the Arabs, *Zem-Zem*.

" The Mount of Forgiveneſs;" it is
' about two miles in circumference,
' a moſt delicious ſpot; on it Adam
' and Eve met, after the Lord, for
' their tranſgreſſion, had ſeparated them
' forty years; here they cohabited,
' and lived in exceſs of happineſs,
' having built a houſe on this mount,
' called *Beith Adam*, i. e. Adam's
' Houſe The night before, or the eve
' of the day of ſacrifice, the three ca-
' ravans, each ranged in a triangular
' form, circumviron this mountain;
' during this whole night the people
' rejoice, clamour, and riot, fire cannon,
' muſkets, piſtols, and fire-works, with
' the continued noiſe of drums and
' trumpets. On the day, a profound
' ſilence ſucceeds, they ſlay their ſheep,
' offer up their ſacrifice on the moun-
' tain, with all the demonſtrations of
' the moſt profound devotion.

' On

'On a ſudden a ſcheik, or ſantone, 'ruſhes from amidſt them, mounted 'on his camel, he aſcends five ſteps, 'rendered practicable for that purpoſe, 'and in a ſet ſermon preaches to the 'people.'

"RETURN praiſe and thanks for the "infinite and immenſe benefits given "by God to Mahometans, through "the mediation of his moſt beloved "friend and prophet Mahomet; for "that he has delivered them from the "ſlavery and bondage of ſin and ido-"latry in which they were plunged; "has given them the houſe of Abra-"ham, from whence they can be "heard, and their petitions granted. "Alſo the Mountain of Forgiveneſs, "by means of which they can im-"plore him, and obtain pardon and "remiſſion of all their ſins.

"FOR

" For that the bleſſed, pious, and
" merciful God, giver of all good
" gifts, commanded his ſecretary Abra-
" ham to build himſelf a houſe at
" Mecca, whence his deſcendants
" might pray to him, the Almighty,
" and their deſires be fulfilled.

" On this command, all the moun-
" tains in the world ran, as it were,
" each ambitious to aſſiſt the ſecretary
" of the Lord, and to furniſh a ſtone
" towards erecting the holy houſe;
" all except this poor little mountain,
" which, through mere indigence,
" could not contribute a ſtone, it con-
" tinued therefore thirty years griev-
" ouſly afflicted; at length, the eter-
" nal God obſerved its anguiſh, and
" moved with pity at its long ſuffer-
" ing, broke forth, ſaying, I can for-
" bear no longer, my child, your bit-

" ter

" ter lamentations have reached my
" ears, and I now declare, that all
" thoſe who henceforth come to viſit
" the houſe of my friend Abraham,
" ſhall not be abſolved of their ſins,
" if they do not firſt reverence you,
" and celebrate on you the holy ſacri-
" fice, which I have commanded to
" my people through the mouth of my
" prophet Mahomet.—Love God—
" pray—give alms."—' After this ſer-
' mon, the people ſalute the mountain
' and depart.'

INDEPENDENT of any argument to be deduced from this account of the pilgrimage to Mecca; the ineſtimable value and ſovereign importance of it in the conception of the people, and even in the eye of government, would have appeared evident to any one preſent at Conſtantinople, when a ſingular

accident happened to the caravan returning from Mecca to Damaſcus in the year 1757.

The paſcha of Damaſcus, is generally the conductor of the caravan, or *Emir Hadge:* Ezade Paſchaw had enjoyed that poſt many years; he had ſovereign credit amongſt the Arabs, had married into one of their chief tribes, his poſſeſſions in the neighbourhood of Damaſcus were incredibly extenſive, and his generoſity equalled them; the kiſlar-aga, who was in power the year before, and governed in the ſeraglio, blinded by venality, and not foreſeeing conſequences, removed Ezade Paſchaw to the paſchalyck of Aleppo, and named to that of Damaſcus an obſcure man, on whom he had juſt conferred the three tails; he became of courſe Emir Hadge, or conductor

to the caravan: his ſucceeding Ezade Paſchaw was crime ſufficient in the eyes of the principal Arabian tribes, but his refuſing them a ſmall tribute, the payment of which had been ſuſpended by * Ezade Paſchaw's credit, rendered them furious and implacable; they aſſembled to the number of 40,000, attacked the caravan, beat the paſchaw of Sidon, who waited on the road to ſupply it with proviſion, ſlaughtered numbers of the 100,000 pilgrims which compoſed it, and plundered all their effects.

* Some time after, the Porte, determined to remove Ezade Paſchaw from Aleppo to Urfa; but he was ſo beloved by the people of Aleppo, that they refuſed admittance to the new paſchaw, and ſtood on the defenſive.—The Porte paſſively ſubmitted for the preſent, but however engaged Ezade Paſchaw next year to accept the government of Urfa; he was not long there before the vizir Ragib Paſchaw, by ſtratagem, had him ſeized, and made him atone for what they called his diſobedience with his head.

NEVER was conſternation greater, among all ranks of people, than on this event; when the fugitive ſoldiers who guarded the caravan, returned to Damaſcus, they fell a ſacrifice to the citizens fury, as betrayers of the faith; at Conſtantinople they looked on their religion as loſt, and the gates of ſalvation ſhut up. The depreſſion was inconceivably great, and it was univerſal; grief and deſpair was vented only in ſullen murmurs, no one dared to ſpeak out; the ſultan was *Ourſus*, Unfortunate: he was ſcarce ſafe on his throne. The argument in his favour, was, that this miſchief happened in the time * of ſultan Oſman his prede-

* On ſultan Muſtapha's acceſſion, the kizlar-aga, who, in ſultan Oſman's reign, had removed Ezade Paſchaw from Damaſcus, was, for various miſdemeanours, baniſhed by the vizir to Rhodes; but on diſcovering that his venality and corruption had principally occaſioned

ceſſor:

ceſſor: it excuſed the prince, but did not abate the anguiſh, or tranquillize the perturbed minds of his ſubjects, anxious for the ſtate of their ſouls. Himſelf, not leſs agitated, conferred continually with the vizir; every precaution was taken to ſecure quiet in the capital; but what made his concern the greater, was the loſs of ſome ſacred relicks of the prophet; by the diſplay of theſe on the prophet's birth-day, he had propoſed to augment the devotion, and heighten the ſolemnity with which that feſtival is celebrated.

this deplorable event; the miniſtry, glad to exculpate themſelves and appeaſe the people, by fixing the odium on ſuch an object, ſent for his head, which was placed between the Seraglio gates, with a large label on it, expreſſing, *That he was a traitor to the faith, and the cauſe of that ſacrilegious attack of the* Arabs *on the* Mecca *caravan.*

THIS pilgrimage, of ſuch ſpiritual importance, has been the cauſe of all the wars between the Perſians and the Ottomans; for the latter, who are followers of Omar, think the Perſians, or the ſect of Aly, unworthy of ſalvation, and no poſſible objects of divine favour: they would not therefore, were it in their power to prevent it, permit them to enter Mecca, and defile that ſacred way, deſtined for, and left open to, the truly orthodox only; but the ſect of Aly will not tamely ſuffer the road of Paradiſe to be thus barred againſt them. No earthly claim could excite ſuch cruel vengeance, or cauſe ſuch horrible effuſions of blood, as this diſpute has occaſioned amongſt the different ſects of Mahomedans.

HENCE it is, that the Perſians in all their negociations of peace with the Otto-

Ottoman Porte, inſiſt on a full and entire liberty for the followers of Aly to go unmoleſted on the pilgrimage to Mecca. This important ſtipulation makes up almoſt the whole of the treaty of 1746 *.

* The emperor of Morocco, with whom the Grand Seignor has ſcarce a connexion, and who is almoſt unknown at Conſtantinople, ſent very lately two ambaſſadors, with preſents of great value, merely and ſolely to ſecure this pilgrimage to his ſubjects.

CHAP. III.

Of Sects.

WHILST there are men, there will be a diverſity of opinions and ſentiments, eſpecially concerning matters of faith.

THE herd of mankind are, indeed, familiarized with any religion; the nurſe throws in the firſt ideas, the parent or prieſt confirms, education rivets it immoveably, it grows with their growth, and becomes inalienable from the man.

BUT this remark, though generally true, is not univerſally ſo; many muſt and will think for themſelves: and of this number, ſome prompted by enthuſiaſm and intemperate zeal, others by vanity and a falſe ambition, will be led

led to promulge their heterodox conceptions, either on a preſumption of truth, or the affectation of ſingularity, and of differing in opinion from the reſt of mankind.

It is abſurd for laws to pretend to bridle thought, or to inflict pains and penalties on the underſtanding; the more opinions are reſtrained, the more men become obſtinate, tenacious, and determined; contract a deſperate contempt of all laws and government, and ſet them at defiance.

We ought therefore by no means to be ſurpriſed, when we find a variety of ſects among Mahometans: no religions from the beginning of the world have been exempt from them. Let them exiſt, provided the moral order of ſociety is not diſturbed; enthuſiaſm will

ſometimes rage with greater zeal than wiſe men would wiſh, but generally it flames, and at laſt extinguiſhes like an *ignis fatuus*. Thus, indeed, the Turks ſeem to think; executions, tortures, pains, and penalties inflicted on account of religion, are never heard of among them.

If the rituals of the eſtabliſhed religion are performed, and a convenient conformity obſerved, they enquire no farther about it.

* Religious diſputes are unknown amongſt the Turks. They have not

* Mr. Reland, in the preface to his *Relig. Mahomet.* encourages the ſtudy of the Arabian language as a means of converting the Mahometans to the Chriſtian religion; by enabling us to demonſtrate to them the falſhood and impoſture of their own: he acknowledges, that content with their *Koran*, they entrench themſelves ſecure from all aſſaults of arguments, on

the

the art of printing; and I am apt to think, the difficulty of tranſcribing

the implicit belief of its doctrines, and will not diſpute. That, nevertheleſs, they formerly diſputed concerning religion, though in his own time they could not. He ſupports his opinion by quotations from Sollerus, who tells us, that Raimond Lully had publickly diſputed with Turks in Africa; and from Maracci, who relates, that many miſſionaries of the church of Rome had done it with ſucceſs: and what is more, * Guadagnola informs us, that a Romaniſt having written a book called *Speculum verum oſtendens*, or, The Mirror of Chriſtianity; Akmed ben Zin Ulabadin anſwered him, under the title of *The Poliſher of the Mirror*, &c. and that Abbé Renaudot, in his Hiſtory of the Patriarchs of Alexandria, has collected from ſeveral libraries manuſcripts of diſputations, Jews with Turks, Monks with Jews; the Metropolite of Niſibis in Diarbekir with Abulkacem; and, ſtrange to relate, Abulcoza, or Abucaza's Apologetical Conference in favour of the Chriſtian religion, before the calif Almamon, by Ebnaſal, &c.

I ſhall only obſerve, that the Turks are invariable in their manners and cuſtoms; whence in general I muſt conclude, that their conduct

* Profeſſor of the Arabian language at Rome in the laſt century.

numerous volumes, and the apprehenſion of being betrayed by the tranſcri-

in religious matters remains on the inviolable plan of their anceſtors. They are bred to an implicit faith in their *Koran*, ſo that a very doubt of its veracity is criminal; this Reland confeſſes: but he ſurely forgot that Raimond Lully's firſt ſermon brought on him martyrdom, at the age of eighty, in Mauritania. The fate of St. Stephen prevented him from preaching a ſecond time.

He has likewiſe forgot that the Romiſh miſſionaries from the beginning, and to this day, have dealt merely in impoſition and pious fraud: that in the accounts they ſend to the Propaganda at Rome, they conſtantly magnify their own merit and ſucceſs, hoping, by that means, to continue in the liberty they enjoy during their miſſion; or if that cannot be effected, to obtain higher eſtimation and ſuperior employment in their convents at home, ſo as to render that ſlavery tolerable, which they generally repent of having ſubmitted to, and which they aſcribe either to their own childiſh inexperience and folly, or to forcible means employed by their parents deſirous of eaſing an overburthened family; or elſe to the intrigue and cajollery of ſome cunning monk. All this is evident to any unprejudiced man who has converſed with them in Turkey.

bers,

bers, may be a principal cauſe that the reveries of particulars have not been diffuſed amongſt numbers.

WHATEVER enthuſiaſtic refinements, or religious whimſies, therefore, ſeize a Turk, they centre in himſelf, and ſerve at moſt as mere confidential entertainment to a few friends.

Were the apologies Reland mentions, ever publiſhed or promulged to Mahometans? Did not the author of the *Mirror* transform himſelf into the *Poliſher?* I dare affirm, if they were not the work of the ſame hand, they were of the ſame ſect; and that theſe Conferences were as unknown among Mahometans, as the authors of them are at preſent to us: and as there is not a miſſionary, or Chriſtian, who dares now write, or ſpeak to a Turk about religion; ſo there never was in thoſe times of ſtill greater barbariſm, any one who could have ventured to do either, without undergoing Lully's fate. Not a ſingle inſtance can be produced of the converſion of a Mahometan to any other religion, ſince the commencement of the Hegira.

THERE is, however, one ſect in Turkey, principally at Salonica, of a very particular kind: it has ſprung from one Sabati Sevi, a Jew of the laſt century, who pretended to inſpiration and the Meſſiahſhip, and has many followers. They profeſs publickly the Mahometan religion, and retain privately the Jewiſh rites, much on the principle of the Ebionites, among the firſt Chriſtians: they intermarry, inhabit together in the ſame part of the town, and never mix with Mahometans, except on buſineſs and commerce, or in the moſches: they never frequent a ſynagogue, nor acknowledge their ſchiſm. It is difficult to conceive how they remain unnoticed by the Turks; or rather, it ſhews with how eaſy a compoſition the Turks are content in theſe matters. An outward profeſſion of their own religion compenſates for the private

private exercise of the other; though were these Jewish Mahometans publickly to profess both, they would be instantly made a publick example: death is the doom of an apostate.

WHATEVER other sects the Mahometans may have among them, they differ merely in words and metaphysical jargon; and, by what can be discovered, abound more among the *Sibiites*, or Persians, than among the *Sunites*, or orthodox Turks. Possibly, the clear, light Persian clime, or most exalted Persian language, is better adapted to produce transcendant flights of imagination, than the grosser Asiatick, or Thracian clime; or than the mixed Turkish dialect, compounded, perhaps, of the very dregs of the Persian and Arabian tongues.

IT

It is impoſſible, we are told, to attain in any other language the immenſe ſublime of Perſian poetry; and, indeed, as far as I could find, almoſt impoſſible for the beſt tranſlator to convert it even into common ſenſe: it ſeems therefore no wonder, ſince they abound with numberleſs poets, raiſed by the higheſt vein of enthuſiaſm, that the ſame ſpirit ſhould lead them into extravagant, enthuſiaſtic, unconfined flights about religion; and the rather, as they have not the heathen deities to play upon as the ſubject of their ſong.

But what is certain, there are among the Turks many philoſophical minds. They have the whole ſyſtems of Ariſtotelian and Epicurean philoſophy tranſlated into their own language; and as they find the latter, which they call the Democratical, cuts more effectually

at

at the root, and is more conformable to their preſent indolence, eaſe, and ſecurity, they generally adopt it; ſo that, perhaps, without their knowing it, they are at once perfect atheiſts and profeſſed Mahometans.

SUPERSTITION and its train are a true baſis for atheiſm; there is no medium; from the one extreme the mind is forcibly, tho' imperceptibly, driven to the other: hence the Turks eaſily plunge into it; and hence amongſt ſome nations profeſſing Chriſtianity, Materialiſm is now, with certain ranks of people, the prevailing doctrine.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Of Mahommedan church-government, and their civil law.

CHURCH government in Turkey, notwithſtanding the miſtakes authors have committed on that ſubject, ſeems not to be involved in much intricacy. At the inſtitution of Mahommedaniſm, it appears, as if it had centered in the *Mufti*, and the order of *Moulahs*, out of which he muſt be choſen. It is difficult to ſay what ſhare they have in it at preſent; they ſeem, however, to be conſidered by moſt as eccleſiaſtics, and the *Mufti* as their head; although they are generally and really regarded by the Turks rather as chiefs of the law and expounders of it; and this, indeed, is their viſible and moſt known office: ſo that whatever may

may have been the original inſtitution of the order of *Moulahs*, if they were at firſt merely churchmen or divines, I think they muſt be conſidered as partaking little of that character at preſent.

Those who really act as divines are the *Imaums*, or pariſh-prieſts, who poſitively officiate in, and are ſet aſide for, the mere ſervice of the moſches. * Their *Scheiks* are the chiefs of their *Derviſhes*, or monks, and form religigious communities, or orders, eſtabliſhed on ſolemn vows: they conſecrate themſelves merely to religious

* The *Scheiks* frequently preach with virulence and invective againſt government; thence, or from the reſpect for religion, real or affected, they are mightily careſſed and reverenced by the greateſt men in office: the vizirs have generally a favourite one about them, who often behaves with uncommon freedom and impudence.

offices,

offices, domeſtic devotion, and publick prayer and preaching: there are four of theſe orders, the *Bektaſhi*, *Mevelevi*, *Kadri*, and *Seyah* *, who are very numerous throughout the empire.

* It may, perhaps, be proper to inſert ſome account of theſe four orders of Mahometan monks.

1. The *Bektaſhi* were founded by one Hagi Bektaſh, whoſe ſepulchre is now in a village called Beſicktaſh, on the European ſide of the Boſphorus, near Galata; the Turks pay it great reſpect and veneration.

Theſe monks, according to their inſtitution, may marry. They are chiefly met with in country towns or villages, and are obliged to travel through the empire; they muſt give the *Gazel* and *Eſma* to all the Muſſulmen they meet, and to them only. The *Gazel* is an affecting tone of voice, which they apply in a ſpecial ſenſe to the Divine love. The *Eſma* is the invocation of one of the names of God, of which the Turks have among them one thouſand and one.

2. The *Mevelevi* take their name from their founder Mevelana. Theſe turn round in acts of devotion with ſuch velocity for two or three hours ſucceſſively, that not even a trace of their

No church-revenues, as far as I could learn, are appropriated to the

countenance is perceivable by a by ſtander. Muſic is their delight, particularly a flute made of an Indian reed; they live in their monaſtery, profeſs poverty and humility, appear exceeding modeſt and kind to ſtrangers, receive all thoſe of any religion who come to viſit them, and accept alms. They treat ſtrangers of any nation with coffee; and if a Muſſulman's feet, or ſandals, ſhould be dirty, they offer immediately to waſh them. They have a convent in Pera.

3. The *Kadri* are a ſingular order, whoſe inſtitute and devotion conſiſts in macerating their bodies; their looks are diſtracted and irregular; they walk the ſtreets almoſt naked, rarely covering the thighs; they hold their hands joined together, as if at prayer, except when they dance, which religious exerciſe they will continue many hours, and ſometimes the whole day, repeating inceſſantly with uncommon vehemence, *Hu! Hu! Hu! Hu!* one of their names of the Deity, until at laſt, as if they were in violent rage or phrenſy, they fall to the ground foaming at the mouth, and bathed with ſweat from every part of the body. This order was once aboliſhed, but is ſince revived. They

parti-

particular uſe of the *Moulahs*: the *Imaums* are the eccleſiaſtics in immediate pay.

have a convent between Pera and St. Demetry, and receive all thoſe who go to ſee them.

4. The *Seyah* are like the Indian *Fakirs*, meer vagabonds; they have monaſteries; but when once they are out of them, they ſeldom return. They obtain eaſily a leave of abſence from their ſuperior, on condition of ſending a certain quantity of proviſions or money to the convent. They are, indeed, inſolent ſturdy beggars, who will not be refuſed. When they enter a town or a village, either in the public praying or market-place; they ſtand up, and cry moſt vehemently, *Good God! ſend me a thouſand dollars! or, a thouſand meaſures of rice!* &c. The people then flock about them, giving alms; and when they find they have exhauſted the charity of the place, they march on to another town, and repeat the ſame practice, until they have collected the ſum impoſed on them by the ſuperior of their convent.

In general, theſe itinerant monks are a ſet of determined villains and thieves, have influence only on the low ſuperſtitious part of the vulgar, on which conſideration chiefly, it ſhould ſeem, they are countenanced by the Turks of

Mecca

Mecca and Medina abſorb large ſums. The repairing and beautifying their moſchees, ſupplying their lamps with oil, and furniſhing numberleſs implements for their uſe; paying many lay dependants who attend that ſervice; ſupporting the *Mechtz*, *Medreſſes*, or publick ſchools; the *Immarets*, or hoſpitals for the ſick, incurable, or mad; are the other means by which the remainder of that vaſt and enormous income is expended.

Most writers on the Mahometan religion, extracting their knowledge from Arabian authors of the very early ages of the *Hegira*, have, I

faſhion, who, though they think them no eſſential part of the Mahometan inſtitute, careſs and encourage the ſuperiors of this order, or ſuch amongſt them whoſe pretenſion to more eminent ſanctity has gained an aſcendence over the minds of the common people.

think, too positively blended and confounded it with their present law: not considering the changes which time produced in the Mahommedan system; for the *Koran* containing political institutes as well as religious dogmas, was probably sufficient to regulate the civil affairs of Mahommed's first followers, a few Arabians, as remarkable for their poverty and the simplicity of their manners, as for their courage and enthusiasm; and the immediate successors of these men, possessed with a religious veneration for this production of their prophet, continued to blend together in the same person, the functions of the priest and that of the judge; and thus perplexed for a time religious with civil rights.

But when his followers became numerous, and their dominion was spread over

over many opulent and extenſive regions, not only religious orders ſprung up, to eaſe the Hierarch of what he thought the drudgery of his office; but alſo law-digeſters aroſe, who now finding the doctrines of the *Koran* inſufficient for the great end of government, viz. the preſerving of good order, and the well-being of civil ſociety, have remedied its defects without appearing to derogate from its authority, or riſquing to alienate the leaſt part of that implicit obedience, and profound veneration, the people paid to it; for under pretence of forming commentaries, as a ſimple extenſion of the angel's or the prophet's ideas, they have provided codes of civil law, equal and ſimilar to the code, pandect, or digeſt; as clear and copious as *Cujas* and *Domat*.

ABOU HANIFE is one of the firſt and chief of thoſe who have thus commented on the *Koran*: his books, and thoſe of his diſciples, are the rule of law under the Turkiſh government in Europe and Aſia.

IN this manner the original inſtitutes were augmented, ſo far as related to civil and criminal caſes; indeed it certainly muſt have been neceſſary to form new regulations, when conqueſt, riches, and luxury, had introduced new crimes, and new ſubjects of contention. And thus, it ſhould ſeem, the eccleſiaſtical and the civil firſt became, in ſome meaſure, diſtinct and ſeparate departments; the *Moulahs*, *Mufti*'s, &c. preſiding in the courts of juſtice, and the *Imaums*, &c. officiating in the moſchees; though ſtill the exact boundaries of each juriſdiction are hardly to be defined.

THE

THE ingenious preſident Monteſquieu *, led by precarious authorities, has excluded all right to the poſſeſſion of private property; all right to ſucceſſions; all inheritances in families, or to females and wives; and, indeed, all † civil law from among the Turks. In ſhort, he ſeems to think, that the Grand Seignor's deſpotiſm ſwallows up the whole code of right in that empire.

WHEN I ſee the excellent reaſoning, and the many judicious conſequences deduced from ſuch erroneous principles, by ſo acute and penetrating a genius; I cannot help thinking it a ſerious inſtance, how ſubject we are to error, and how fallacious the moſt plauſible arguments may ſometimes prove.

* L'Eſprit des Lois, lib. v. cap. xiv. & xv.
† L'Eſprit des Lois, lib. vi. c. 1.

WITHOUT appealing to fact, the ſingle chapter intitled * *Women*, would have ſhewn him how ſucceſſions in families, and to male, or female, or wives, are fixed and regulated by the prophet; and conſequently, how far private property is ſecured by law beyond the reach, and out of the power, of the ſultan.

THE other part required but a ſingle enquiry; he might eaſily have been informed by what method they actually determine cauſes in their courts of juſtice, and what † books they uſe

Chap. IV. in Sale's Edition.

† *Extract out of a Law-Book uſed in the* Turkiſh *Courts, by* Hanife. [Chap. of Sales.]

Sales are made when the one conſents and the other accepts, explaining himſelf by the preterit of the Indicative Mood; now when any one of the contracting parties conſents to ſell, or to buy, the other ſhall be at liberty to ac-

in Turkey as authorities for their legal deciſions: he would have found

cept, or not, as long as they remain in the place where the bargain is to be made.

But if the one conſents, and the other goes out from that place before accepting, the bargain is void.

The ſale is concluded when both poſitively agree; then neither the one nor the other can be off, except ſome fault or defect ſhould be found in the thing ſold, or that the buyer had not ſeen it.

It is not neceſſary to know the quantity of goods expoſed to ſale, in order to bargain for the whole; for though a price is ſpecified, the ſale is not valid until the quantity and quality are known.

Sales may be for ready money, or on credit, fixing the time of payment; and when the ſpecies in which the goods are to be paid for is not ſpecified, it is to be underſtood the moſt current money of the country; but if there are different ſpecies of current-money, the ſale is not valid without fixing the particular ſpecie.

All eatables may be ſold, and all ſorts of grain by the eſtabliſhed *meaſure*, or without it; either by taking a vaſe or tub of any kind, the exact contents of which are unknown; or by

ſeveral, which formally ſtipulate, and fix, the terms and legality of a pur-

weight, taking a ſtone for a weight, the real weight of which is unknown.

Selling a quantity of any eatables at a drachm the *Caſiz*, the ſale ſhall be valid for one *Caſiz*, according to the opinion of Abu Hanife: but when the ſeller declares how many *Caſiz* there are, or may be, then according to his two diſciples the whole is ſold.

He that ſells a flock of ſheep, at a drachm a ſheep, the ſale will not hold for the whole flock.

In like manner for a piece of ſtuff, or ſilk, at a drachm the ell, he muſt mention the number of ſheep or ells.

If a quantity of eatables of a hundred *Caſiz* are ſold at a hundred drachms, and there are found leſs; the buyer will be at liberty to take them in paying only for what there is, or he may refuſe the whole: but if there are more than an hundred meaſures, or *Caſiz*, he muſt reſtore the ſurplus to the ſeller.

But he that buys a piece of ſtuff, or ſilk, on the footing of ten ells at ten drachms, or, one hundred cubits of land at a hundred drachms; if leſs is found, he is at liberty to take them for the ſaid ſum, or to leave them; if there are more than what is agreed for, they

chaſe,

chaſe, whether of lands, houſes, corn, cattle, or merchandize. From theſe it may be preſumed, he would have

belong to him, and the ſeller has no right to the ſurplus.—But if the ſeller declares that the land contains a hundred cubits, and that the price is a hundred drachms, or a drachm the cubit; in that caſe, if there are more or leſs, the buyer is at liberty to take it at a drachm the cubit, or to leave it.

If a bale of ſilks or ſtuffs, ſaid to contain fifty pieces, is ſold at fifty aſpers, or at one aſper the piece, and that there ſhould be found fewer pieces; the buyer may take what the bale contains at an aſper the piece, or he may refuſe the whole; but if there are more than fifty pieces, the bargain is void.

When a houſe is ſold, all the buildings belonging to it are included in the bargain, tho' not expreſly mentioned; or on the ſale of a piece of ground, the palm, or other trees ſtanding in it ſhall be included, though not mentioned; but the herbs, or other greens, growing in it are not comprehended.

If the palm, or other trees are ſold with the fruit on them, the fruit will belong to the ſeller, unleſs they are ſpecified in the bargain; but then the buyer can oblige him to gather the fruit immediately.

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acquired a notion of Turkiſh deſpotiſm very different from that which he has adopted.

The *Moulahs*, however, whether conſidered as churchmen or lawyers, enjoy great immunities, which deſcend uninterruptedly to their families. Their lives and eſtates are generally ſecure; their greateſt puniſhment in office, even for malverſation, is exile; and if they are not too obnoxious to government, they may ſometimes compound for that by a pecuniary donation. All the profitable employments of the law are in their hands; they are ſent out as *Mufti*'s, or judges, throughout the chief towns of the empire, whence they are pro-

If fruit is ſold on the tree, whether it proves good or bad, the bargain is valid, and the buyer muſt gather them immediately.

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moted to the high office of *Cadileſquier*, or chief juſtice, either of *Romelia*, or of *Anatolia*; that is, of Europe, or of Aſia; and at laſt to that of *Sheik Iſſam*, or *Mufti*, at Conſtantinople.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of the Koran.

I SHALL not pretend to enter into a minute analyſis of the ſeveral doctrines of the *Koran*, but confine myſelf to ſome general obſervations.

MR. SALE has given us an elaborate detail of that book, in the preliminary diſcourſe to his excellent tranſlation. I am, however, ſorry to ſay, that he frequently diſcovers an inclination to apologize for it; and rather endeavours to reconcile and palliate the numerous abſurdities he meets with, than to expoſe them in the light they deſerve. One advantage, however, we derive from this humour of his, we may be certain he has not added an abſurdity to thoſe he found, nor given any

any of them a more ridiculous dreſs than they wear in the original.

Some heterodox manufacturers of wit, deſirous of appearing ſingular, tho' at the expence of common ſenſe, if not of common honeſty, have not ſcrupled to profeſs themſelves admirers of the *Koran*, have extolled its doctrines, and dared even to put them on a parallel with thoſe eſtabliſhed by our ſacred writings.

Mahomet, ſuperior to his countrymen in parts and ſcience, reſolved to be ſupreme in command. To effect this he had but one game to play, which was to impoſe himſelf on them as a prophet divinely inſpired, and his book as an immediate revelation from the Almighty. In this he could inculcate what doctrines,

and aſſign himſelf what pre-eminence and authority he pleaſed: in ſhort, his book was of the utmoſt conſequence to him. He therefore, very artfully, framed it after the prototypes of truth, the Moſaic and Chriſtian revelations; for in his travels to Egypt, as well as at home among the Chriſtians and Jews in Arabia, fugitives on account of religion, he muſt have obſerved the force with which theſe genuine revelations had captivated the minds of men; he therefore, without impugning either, declares the latter of them to be only a continuation of the former, and that his own is a continuation of both, and compleats the whole diſpenſation of Divine Providence. This he has judiciouſly ſeaſoned with what he knew would render it moſt acceptable to his countrymen, and appears moſt predominant in himſelf, the indulgence of

their

their luſt and rapine in this world, and a moſt ſenſual paradiſe in the next.

His firſt ſtep was to perſuade his ignorant Arabians, that the *Koran* is an extract taken from the great book, in which, at the creation of the world, the Divine decrees were all written and depoſited at the ſame time in one of the ſub-firmamental heavens; and that from thence it was faithfully delivered to him, verſe by verſe, by the chief hierarchical angel Gabriel. Hence, in his chapter *Al Kadr*, he tells them himſelf, from the mouth of the Almighty, "Verily, we ſent down the *Koran* in "the night of *Al Kadr*; and what ſhall "make thee underſtand how excellent "the night of *Al Kadr* is? The night "of *Al Kadr* is better than a thouſand "months: therein do the angels de-"ſcend, and the ſpirit Gabriel alſo, by "permiſſion of their Lord, with his de-

"crees

" crees concerning every matter. It is " peace until the viſiting of the moth*."

On this paſſage principally, is founded the claim of the *Koran* to be of celeſtial origin, the all-beauteous and all-perfect work of the Creator; and hence that moſt profound veneration, amounting almoſt to adoration, which the Mahometans pay to it. They fancy a chapter or verſe can cure them of all diſeaſes, preſerve them from all accidents, or external evils; can prolong life, and render it healthful and proſperous. A thorough ablution is neceſſary before they preſume to touch this ſacred book; the ſight of an infidel pollutes it; and when they read they muſt hold it above their middle, to preſerve it from approaching the region of impurity and defilement.

* Sale's Edit. Of Divine Decrees, ch. xcvii.

to

THE Turks are eternally puzzled when, or which night, this *Al Kadr* may be: they think it muſt be in *Ramadan*; and many enthuſiaſts have, at that time, extatic communications with the angelic ſpirits who deſcend from the heavenly ſpheres.

MAHOMET, though ſo abſolute and ſo able an impoſtor, did not, however, dare pretend to that great criterion of Divine truth, miracles, the main baſis of thoſe true revelations he would endeavour to imitate, and which he confeſſes to have been wrought * in atteſtation of their Divine origin. Many urged him to produce them; many aſked of him ſigns; and he ſeems in many parts of the *Koran*, more embarraſſed to evade the charge of impoſtor, incurred by not manifeſting his

* Sal. Edit. ch. v. 27.

vocation by theſe ſigns, than to eſtabliſh his doctrines. His own uncle and relations ſeemed, on that account, to deteſt his impoſition; and it is evident from the text, that he had often found his very women rebellious; it is probable they likewiſe expected miracles: for he tells us, there were only four of them good and obedient.

When he is preſſed for this proof of his miſſion, he ſhifts the want of it on the will of the Deity; "* They "(the Infidels) have ſworn, ſays he, by "God, by the moſt ſolemn oath, that "if a ſign come unto them they would "certainly believe therein: verily, ſigns "are in the power of God alone, and "he permitteth you not to underſtand, "that when they come, they (the Infi-"dels) will not believe; and we will turn

* Ch. vi. entitled Cattle, p. 110. Sal. Edit.

"aſide

" aſide their hearts and their ſight from " the truth, as they believed not " therein the firſt time; and we will " leave them to wander in their error." He then recommends them to believe implicitly in the *Koran*.

On another occaſion he uſes the ſame dexterity. " * The infidels ſay, unleſs " a ſign be ſent down unto him (to " Mahomet) from his Lord, we will " not believe. The Lord's anſwer; " Thou art commiſſioned *to be a preacher only*, and not a *worker of miracles*; " and unto every people *hath a director been appointed*. God knoweth what " every female beareth in her womb, " and what the wombs want or exceed " of their due time or number of " young." The concluſion of this paragraph is curious; it is a ſhort turn,

* Ch. xiii. entit. Thunder, p. 201.

upon wombs, which leaves the beginning upon miracles quite out of ſight.

By theſe quotations we may perceive what evidence his external ſigns of Divine miſſion carried with them; and as to the internal, they are ſo far from recommending it, that the moſt of his doctrines and precepts, thoſe properly his own, are trivial and unworthy the ſlighteſt attention. The precepts and commands copied from the Moſaic diſpenſation, of which there are many, or thoſe from the Chriſtian, may command ſome regard; although thoſe from the latter ſavour of the corrupt channel they have paſſed through; for if he preaches the duties of benevolence, and the forgiveneſs of injuries, it is not with that univerſal, beneficent, diffuſed principle, recommended in the goſpels indiſcriminately to all mankind:

he

he confines theſe virtues undoubtedly to the narrow limits of his own ſect; for they are neither to live nor commune with unbelievers; and ſo far from being enjoined to forgive them, they are commanded to injure and to ſubdue them: and God knows, it is but too evidently ſhewn by their practice how much they honour the precept.

It is, indeed, a pleaſant part of the *Koran*, which repreſents the Divine communications deſcending ſo low as to regulate the minuter intereſts, family concerns, and amorous paſſions of Mahomet; it muſt give us a pretty juſt notion both of the prophet and his people, as well as of thoſe ſceptics who have expreſſed ſo favourable an opinion of his book: for inſtance, let us hear the awful commands of the Almighty impoſed on the prophet's rebellious wives, &c. on ſo important

an occaſion as the vexatious demand they made for fine clothes: to ſatisfy this demand was a difficulty, perhaps, too arduous for the power of man alone to overcome.

" * O Prophet, ſay unto thy wives, " If ye ſeek the preſent life and the " *pomp thereof*, come, I will make a " handſome proviſion for you, and I " will diſmiſs you with an honourable " diſmiſſion; but if you ſeek God, " and his apoſtle, and the life to come, " verily, God hath prepared for ſuch " of you as work righteouſneſs a great " reward. O wives of the prophet, " whoſoever of you ſhall commit a ma- " nifeſt wickedneſs, the puniſhment " thereof ſhall be doubled unto her " two-fold; and this is eaſy with " God: but whoſoever of you ſhall be " obedient unto God and his apoſtle,

* Koran, ch. xxxiii. p. 345, 356. Sal. Ed.

" and ſhall do what is right, he will
" give her her reward twice, and we
" have prepared for her an honour-
" able proviſion in *Paradiſe*. O wives
" of the Prophet, ye are not as other
" women; if ye fear God, be not
" too complaiſant in ſpeech, leſt he
" ſhould covet, in whoſe heart is a diſ-
" eaſe of incontinence.—Sit ſtill in your
" houſes, and ſet not yourſelves forth
" with the oſtentation of the former
" time of ignorance. Obſerve the ap-
" pointed time of prayer, give alms
" —and obey God and his apoſtle;
" for God deſireth only to remove
" from you the abominations of va-
" nity, &c.

TERMAGANT and rebellious wives were the leaſt puniſhment that a man of the prophet's inſatiable paſſion deſerved; inſtead of four, a number he allowed his followers, and ſurely ſufficient to

break the eaſe, and deſtroy the happineſs, of any one man living, he again brings down the Deity to grant him a permiſſion without limitation, and even to direct his amours. If he had been ſmothered under them all, it would have been a juſt death for ſuch extravagant lubricity. *Satia te ſanguine*, was the ſaying of the Scythian queen, when ſhe plunged Cyrus's head into a veſſel of blood.—But let us hear again his Lord.

" * O Prophet, we have allowed
" thee thy wives, unto whom thou
" haſt given their dower; and alſo the
" ſlaves which thy right-hand poſſeſ-
" ſeth, of the booty which God hath
" granted thee; and the daughters of
" thy uncle, and the daughters of thy
" aunts, both on thy father's ſide,

* Koran, ch. xxxiii. Sal. Edit. p. 348, 349.

" and

" and on thy mother's ſide, who have
" fled with thee from *Mecca*; and any
" other believing woman if ſhe give
" herſelf unto the prophet, in caſe the
" prophet deſireth to take her to wife.
" This is a peculiar privilege *granted*
" unto thee above the reſt of the true
" believers: we know what we have
" ordained them concerning their
" wives, and the ſlaves whom their
" right hands poſſeſs, leſt it ſhould be
" deemed a crime in thee *to make uſe*
" *of the privilege granted thee*; for God
" is gracious and merciful. Thou
" mayſt poſtpone the *turn of ſuch of*
" *thy wives as thou ſhalt pleaſe*, in *being*
" *called to thy bed*; and thou mayſt
" take unto thee her whom thou ſhalt
" pleaſe, and her whom thou ſhalt
" deſire, of thoſe whom thou ſhalt
" have before rejected, and it ſhall be
" no crime in thee: this will be more

" eaſy, that they *may be intirely content*,
" and may not be grieved, but may
" be well pleaſed with what thou ſhalt
" give every one of them.——O true
" believers, enter not the houſe of the
" prophet, unleſs it be permitted you
" to eat meat with him, without wait-
" ing his convenient time.—And when
" ye aſk of the prophet's wives what
" ye may have occaſion for, aſk *it* of
" them from behind a curtain; this
" will be more pure for your hearts
" and their hearts. Neither is it fit
" for you to give any uneaſineſs to the
" apoſtle of God, or to marry his
" wives after him for ever; for this
" would be a grievous thing in the
" ſight of God."

MAHOMET's paradiſe flowing with delicious waters, planted with the moſt odoriferous trees and ſhrubs; but above all,

all, the exalted enjoyment of black-eyed nymphs, would lead me farther than I intend.

THE few quotations exhibited here, merely to ſave a reader the trouble of recurring to the *Koran* itſelf, may ſufficiently evince what marks of ſanctity, and of a divine miſſion, we muſt expect from it: they will likewiſe demonſtrate, what a moſt abject idea the prophet, and his ignorant followers, muſt have had of the Divine perfections; and what groſs contradictions paſſages like theſe muſt be, to thoſe pompous and ſublime deſciptions of them, with which they are moſt impiouſly mixt. I ſhall follow Mahomet no farther in his lubricity, but ſay with the prophet Habakkuk, "he that runs "may read."

I MUST however obſerve, that ſome of his laws, if not rigidly juſt, are yet an effectual ſecurity againſt deſpotiſm, and the oppreſſion of the people, eſpecially ſuch as relate to private property, widows, orphans, inheritances, legacies, and crimes, &c.

ONE concluſion I think ſo clear, that it muſt be evident to all ſagacious and impartial men; it is, that the whole *Koran* is a diſcordant, incoherent jumble of ſentences, gleaned from fugitive Jews and Chriſtian ſectaries, Neſtorians, Monothelites and Eutychians; ſtrangely put together by the prophet, and impoſed on ignorant enthuſiaſtic people, who muſt have been great barbarians when they believed it the word of God.

We poſſeſs many good tranſlations of this extraordinary book, made from genuine and ſtandard originals: excellent ones were found among the Granadine Moors by cardinal Ximenes, and correct copies may always be purchaſed in Turkey; tho' at a high rate. Indeed, there is ſcarce a riſque or poſſibility of being impoſed on; for the Mahometans hold it as the higheſt ſacrilege to alter a ſingle point or jota of this their ſacred book: and moſt men of letters amongſt them, like the Jews in Paleſtine, think it not only a duty, but a ſpecial recommendation to the Deity and his prophet, to have every word and tittle of the *Koran* ſo fixed and imprinted in their memories, that they may on any occaſion repeat it extempore.

DU RYER's French verſion may err in the idiom, but the general doctrines are ſufficiently exact; Marracci's Latin one is very correct; and that in Engliſh by Mr. Sale, is undoubtedly, in every reſpect, of approved accuracy.

TALKING on this ſubject with a learned *Effendi*, who was known to have the *Koran* by heart; a chapter from Sale's edition was explained to him in the vulgar Turkiſh dialect: the old Turk, in a ſort of rapturous ſurpriſe, followed the interpreter; repeating verſe by verſe in the original Arabian. He remained aſtoniſhed and amazed; and aſked with ſome emotion, how we could have ſo perfect a tranſlation, the ſenſe ſo juſtly preſerved? and added, that the author muſt have been an admirable proficient in the Arabian language, a very great man.

I CAN-

I CANNOT conclude this chapter without obſerving, that from what I have ſaid of the practical religion of the Mahometans, we are not to infer that they are univerſally, and without exception, deſtitute of virtue; nor of all humanity towards ſtrangers. I have already, in my general character of the Turks, anticipated this remark as far as I could conſiſtent with truth. I could not help, however, repeating it, bad as they are, they are the beſt people in their empire.

THAT corrupt religion perverts the rectitude of nature, that the Turks are notoriouſly corrupted by it, is too true; but how many ignorant abſurd ſects of Chriſtians are there, who, each deviating from the original inſtitutes and pure precepts of Chriſtianity, are ſtrangers to that perfect ſimplicity and uni-

univerſal benevolence it requires; and are as deſtitute of ſocial virtue and common humanity towards thoſe who differ from them in opinion, as the moſt zealous or ignorant Turk?

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of Deſpotiſm, and its Reſtraints.

MEN, either from habit and the prejudices of education, or from preſumption and opinion, are apt to think their own government the beſt; to cenſure others, point out their defects, and frequently, without ſufficient knowledge to judge, will venture to revile and abuſe them.

THE government of the Turkiſh empire has been injuriouſly miſrepreſented by cenſurers of this kind. The tremendous accounts given of its deſpotiſm have miſled many, and raiſed the religious paſſions of ſome to abhorrence and utter deteſtation; while others, not under the influence of religious paſſions, have found their nature

ſhocked at the image theſe accounts conveyed to them: and well regulated as the ſyſtem of this haughty court may be, both have been brought to annex the idea of barbariſm to it; have ſuppoſed it without order or plan, entirely ſubject to the caprice, cruelty, and avarice of a tyrant, tending merely to the oppreſſion of his ſubjects, and, as far as its power extended, to the deſtruction of mankind.

SURELY theſe men did not, or would not, look nearer home: it was, perhaps, too near; for let us only caſt our eyes about us, and impartially examine the governments with which we are ſurrounded, we may then perhaps find, that the Sultan is not more deſpotic than many Chriſtian ſovereigns; perhaps, not ſo much as ſome of them.

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Although it is absurd to look for perfection in any body of laws, or any political institutions; since the productions of the human mind, limited as it is, must all be imperfect; yet the most equitable conclusion will be, that in every empire which has extended wide, and flourished long, there are some parts of its constitution wise and good: and it is certain, that whatever defects may be in the political system of the Turks, their empire is so solidly founded on the basis of religion, combined with law, and so firmly cemented by general enthusiasm, and the interest, as well as vanity, of the Turkish individual, that it has lasted ages, and bids fair for stability and permanency.

We have seen in a former chapter, that the Turks have laws to secure property and regulate commerce; they

have others to puniſh crimes and reſtrain vice. It is not their laws, but the corrupt adminiſtration of them, the flagitious venality of their judges, and the number of falſe witneſſes connived at, and whoſe teſtimony is accepted, that is the opprobrium of the Turkiſh empire, as will be more fully ſhewn in a ſucceeding chapter.

How far Mahomet intended to limit, or extend the power of the ſovereign, I ſhall not pretend to determine; the degree in which the preſent ſultans are abſolute, is an enquiry more to the purpoſe. Of this, facts will beſt enable us to judge: thoſe we ſhall produce will ſhew us the nature of the Turkiſh monarch's deſpotiſm; and that, independent of fear, the conſtant companion and reſtraint of tyrants, he is limited by religion and law. But we

ſhall firſt conſider the right of his claim to inherit the poſſeſſions of ſome of his ſubjects.

THOSE who are directly employed in his ſervice, and thoſe leſs immediately ſo; for example, the officers under *Paſchaws* in diſtant provinces, know that they hold their offices on a kind of feudal tenure: they, notwithſtanding, eagerly ſollicit, and contentedly accept them on that condition; ſubmitting, or, it may be ſaid, covenanting and agreeing, that he ſhould inherit at their death.

THE affinity of this law or cuſtom with the tenures of the old feudal law, transferred, in this inſtance, from lands to office, would lead us to think it had its origin from thoſe tenures; for they prevailed over almoſt all the

known world, at the time the *Koran* was formed; and they ſubſiſted amongſt ourſelves long after the Conqueſt.

By theſe tenures, lands held in fief reverted, on the death of the holder, abſolutely and irrevocably to the feudal prince, or lord: the family were left to ſcramble the wide world for ſubſiſtence; they had no claim of recovery, nor even a pretenſion to relief in their neceſſities, except from mere commiſeration and humanity.

Mahomet, either by chance or deſign, has effectually ſecured the people from the immediate inconvenience and oppreſſion of that tenure.

Estates, in land or houſes, annexed to the church, either in actual poſ-

ſeſſion, or in reverſion, are held both by prince and people ſacred and inviolable: thoſe perſons therefore, by whatever means they acquire their poſſeſſions, who give the reverſion to religious foundations, tranſmit them unmoleſtedly and unalienably to their direct male iſſue: Mecca and Medina are the places generally preferred, becauſe held the moſt ſacred.

They call this ſettlement *Vacuf:* they pay an annual, very trifling, quit-rent, until the extinction of that iſſue, when the whole devolves to the religigious foundation on which it is ſettled.

This previous law, or tie of religion, binds the prince to ſo rigid an obſervance, that there has never been a ſingle example of even an attempt to treſpaſs or reverſe it.

For, independent of what he may conceive his duty towards God, or his prophet, the leaſt breach of ſuch a law deſtroys the very foundation of his throne: it is merely by the *Koran*, or their religious inſtitutes, his ſovereignty exiſts; the moment he abandons thoſe doctrines, or violates thoſe laws, he becomes an infidel, and ceaſes to be the lawful ſovereign.

Mahomet has not limited this law of ſecurity merely to his own ſectaries; it extends to all religions; Chriſtians or Jews may avail themſelves of it; and as moſt of them, led by ambition or intereſt, aſpire to enjoy more or leſs the countenance and favour of the great officers in government, they generally take the advantage of that protection to ſettle their poſſeſſions either with Mecca or Medina; or, perhaps, with greater

greater facility, ſome one of the ſeveral moſchees at Conſtantinople, or wherever elſe their fancy or connexions may lead them; it is enough that it be a religious foundation.

The Jews, indeed, have been excluded ſome moſchees, as it appeared by the regiſters, that in the ſpace of a hundred years, not a ſingle reverſion fell in; whence the Turks, it ſhould ſeem, have concluded, that the direct male iſſue of the ſons of Abraham is eternal.

From what has been ſaid of the *Vacuf*, it is obvious, and it is worth obſerving, what immenſe revenues belong to the church; and how in ſucceſſion of time it muſt ſwallow up into its enormous boſom, almoſt all the lands and poſſeſſions of that vaſt empire.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Facts to elucidate the foregoing chapter, and of the Turkiſh government.

THE Grand Seignor is conſidered as abſolute ſovereign of the whole Turkiſh empire; the ſubjects approaching him treat him as a divinity, with the higheſt veneration and reſpect. He ſhould, ſtrictly adhering to their conſtitution, delegate his abſolute power to the Vizir. This was practiſed by moſt of them from Mahomet the IId's time to 1730.

THE rebellion that year, the depoſition of ſultan Achmet, and the acceſſion of his nephew Machmut, gave a new turn to the conſtitution. There was, at that time, in the ſeraglio, where he

he generally acts as first minister, a *Kislar-Aga*, or chief of the black eunuchs, an experienced and wise man: he had been in office under Machmut's father, predecessor to the deposed Achmet; he had seen two rebellions, two depositions of the sovereign, observed the cause, traced the evil, and pointed out the remedy.

The cause he ascribed to the permanent continuance and absolute power of the Vizirs; to their ambition of glory, and restless disposition for war and conquest. He therefore counselled the new Sultan to retain the power in his own hands; to change his Vizirs frequently, not suffering any one to continue in office above three years, and to live in peace with all his neighbours. On these maxims he advised his master to establish the tranquility

of

of government, and the ſecurity of the throne; and ſultan Machmut, during a reign of twenty-four years, ſteadily adhered to them.

THIS black eunuch lived to the age of ninety; he died in 1746, and was ſucceeded by his favourite *Bekir-Aga*, a young Black, about thirty-three years of age, born in the iſland of Borneo. Full of ſpirit and vigour, he found himſelf, by the policy of his late maſter, in poſſeſſion of abſolute power, and haſtened to exert it; but he wanted the wiſdom, the judgment, the knowledge of mankind, and experience his predeceſſor poſſeſſed; his will became his law, and he ſet no bounds to his avarice.

INTOXICATED with higher ideas than his underſtanding could ſupport, he laid down as a maxim, That no man in the

the empire ſhould be worth above 10,000 * dollars, and acted as if he would not leave them an aſper.

The rage of his paſſion was for diamonds, jewel-work, and rich toys; probably, indeed, to lay in a ſtock of portable wealth for an evil day, and to live in ſplendor at Cairo, the uſual place of their exile. During the ſix years of his adminiſtration, one would have thought that he intended to exhauſt all Europe of diamonds, and purchaſe the whole produce of the mines of Golconda and Brazil.

The inſtruments of his extortion were, a young ſlave of twenty-two or twenty-three years old, and an Armenian raiſed from the duſt. The go-

* A dollar makes 120 aſpers, and is worth two ſhillings and ſixpence.

vernment

vernment of that vaſt empire centered in the hands of this junto. When any large purchaſe of diamonds was to be made, the means were concerted between theſe three how to raiſe the money: they ſagaciouſly divided the neceſſary ſum into parts; they then applied to a number of opulent great men, who were, or had been in office; and giving them to underſtand it was to purchaſe preſents intended for the ſovereign, they aſſigned a part on each until they had compleated the whole ſum. No one dared repine, nor even heſitate; ſome were ſilent through fear; others, perhaps, moſt of them, from the expectation of future favours.

This rapine was variouſly talked of; ſome aſcribed it to the prince, ſome to the Black and his aſſociates; the more general voice gave it to the former,

mer, who certainly could not be entirely ignorant of the extortions practiſed by his miniſter. They occaſioned, however, no commotions or diſturbances.

HIGHLY in the Sultan's confidence and favour, he might, indeed, have gone on with theſe and other irregularities without controul; but his firſt ſucceſſes ſpirited him on to enormous acts of power againſt all decency, law, and religion; he not only meddled with thoſe dependent, but even with independent people. He injudiciouſly offended the body of Janiſſaries, by ſtopping the pay of ſome, and withholding the money which had been promiſed them for rebuilding their *Odda*'s, or chambers, lately burned down; and at laſt, he ſtruck againſt thoſe whom he had feared moſt, the men of the law.

AN

An important cauſe was depending before the *Moulah*, or judge of Scutari, a man of ſingular reſolution. The party who was in the wrong applied to the Black and his creatures for protection, and backed their requeſt with a large preſent. The junto undertook it, and ſent a meſſage to the judge, that he ſhould decide the cauſe in favour of their friend: he anſwered, that he would pronounce according to law, and his own conſcience; and on various like ſollicitations, he as conſtantly perſiſted in the ſame anſwer.

The day he was on the bench to hear, and finally determine the cauſe, a * *Chiohadar* of the Black's entered the court-room with precipitation, and heard the ſentence pronounced againſt their friend. He abuſed and threatened

* Head ſervant.

the

the *Moulah*, drew out a ſhort whip they generally wear, and ſome pretend, went ſo far as not only to ſhake and menace, but to ſtrike.

THIS unprecedented inſult on law and religion, ſtirred up the *Moulah* to ſeek redreſs and revenge: he applied to the *Mufti*, who ſent him to the Vizir. That miniſter ſought, by all poſſible methods, to pacify him: every offer was rejected, even that of the *Moulalick* of Iconium, the beſt in the empire. The men of the law ſupported their brother, and murmured ſilently, but deeply. What heightened their indignation was, that whilſt the Vizir capitulated with the *Moulah*, the Black rewarded his *Chiohadar* with a lucrative meſſage abroad.

THE Black and his dependants perceived the ſtorm ariſing; they found they could not ſilence the *Moulah*, and therefore determined his deſtruction. This could not be done openly; yet their Arabian craft, blinded by rage, paſſion, and deſpair, did not enable them to concert it with their uſual diabolical ſubtlety, or to perpetrate their villany with that ſecrecy the evil they expoſed themſelves to required.

THE bungling project they hit upon was to ſend ruffians in the dead of night, who ſtrangled the *Moulah* and his daughter in their beds: in the mean time, they cut the wooden pillars ſupporting the houſe, and ſo demoliſhed it, that it might appear as if they were accidentally buried under the ruins.

THE time, method, and circumſtances, led to a clear diſcovery of all this

this horrid tranſaction. The men of the law became deſperately reſolved on vengeance, and joined ſecretly with ſome chiefs of the Janizaries; but determined to ſpare the ſovereign, provided he gave up his Black, the obnoxious *Kiſlar-Aga*.

The difficulty lay how to make their firſt grievances known to him: if through the black eunuch, the natural channel, any two or three complainants riſked ſudden deſtruction, without effecting what they deſired; if ſecretly to the Sultan, they were not ſure of a better fate. They found, therefore, only one method which might effectually awaken, intimidate, and inform him; that was, by burning of Conſtantinople.

Fires continued inceſſantly for near twenty days, every day in two or three different parts of that city. The Grand Seignor finding the evil deep, and carried on by deſign, depoſed the Vizir; a ſacrifice he imagined would appeaſe the rage of diſcontent: but he found that expedient was inſufficient; for the next day as many fires appeared. At the laſt he was adviſed, as it was ſaid by ſome, to conſult ſecretly the *Mufti*; or, as others report, that chief of the law went to him ſpontaneouſly, and boldly laid the whole iniquitous conduct of the Black before him, demanded juſtice, and told him, he expoſed the ſecurity of his own throne in refuſing it; urged the neceſſity of taking ſome immediate determined party againſt the Black; adding, if the Sultan would not give *Bechir* the *Kiſlar-Aga* up, he deſired leave to reſign

his

his own office, that he might rather as a private man ſee the dreaded cataſtrophe of his prince's fall, than as the head of the law be conſtrained to conſent to it.

Sure it is, that the *Mufti* was really a man of that ſtoical ſelf-denying turn, that heroic mind, as to dare hold ſuch language, and undertake this harſh and hazardous meſſage to his ſovereign, who immediately gave attention to this alarming remonſtrance, determined to get rid of the Black, and to exile him to Cairo.

On one of his uſual days of recreation, the Sultan went by water to a *Chioſk*, or ſummer-houſe, on the Boſphorus: the *Boſtangi-Paſhi*, and *Selichatar Aga*, who always accompany him, had already received his orders. The Black was of the party; they ſeized

on him at his landing, forced him into a boat, and impriſoned him in Leander's tower *, where he was to wait for the galley deſigned to tranſport him to Cairo.

The ſight of the galley excited freſh remonſtrances from the Law; they demanded the delinquent's blood, and obliged the Grand Seignor, though with the utmoſt reluctance, to conſent to his execution.

The high ſpirit of the Black was changed to deſperation at the ſight of the executioner; he reſolutely defended himſelf with his *Hanjar*, or knife, againſt that officer: he wounded him; and fell at laſt but by the ſuperiority of the ſcimitar: his body lay expoſed three days on the ſea-ſhore.

* Situated on an iſland, in the port of Conſtantinople.

Daily

DAILY executions followed of all his creatures and dependants, his ſlave, his Armenian, and his ſecretaries; many others were exiled.

THE ſums confiſcated by death and exile were immenſe. What paſſed thro' the *Teſterdarat*, or public treaſury, and was afterwards paid into the Grand Seignor's *Chaſne*, or private treaſury, collected from without, amounted to 30,500 purſes, or a million nine hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. What was found within the Seraglio in diamonds, jewel-work, and gold, was never known; but in general aſſured to be as much more, or far exceeding it.

THIS moſt rare and remarkable fact in their hiſtory, and which ſo immediately and intimately affected abſolute power, might ſingly ſhew how law at

laſt can effectually controul it, and bring the ſovereign, as it was well known in this caſe, againſt every ſentiment of love and affection, and almoſt without a precedent or example, to abandon the governor of his Seraglio, and at that time of his empire, to the utmoſt rigour of the juſtice of law.

But that even the Sultan thinks himſelf bound by law, is evident from his practice; for, on any treaty to be made, any war to be undertaken, or tranſgreſſions puniſhed that are committed againſt himſelf, or by perſons of high rank in his ſervice; he applies to the *Mufti* for his *Fetfa*, his decree, his deciſion, or ſanction of law.

It is true, as he makes the *Mufti*, he can depoſe and exile him, the worſt that can happen to him. It is alſo as true,

true, that many of them, in different reigns, have actually withſtood the will of their Sultan; and that, notwithſtanding, he has not dared immediately to reſent their non-compliance. On theſe occaſions it has been judged neceſſary to invent ſome more plauſible pretence for diſgracing them: the argument againſt violent proceedings, would, in this caſe, be too clamorous with the people; thoſe of the law alone might ſhake his throne.

The *Koran*, we have obſerved, ſecures property; and the following remarkable inſtance will confirm the practice.

In the year 1755, the * Porte was burnt entirely down: on rebuilding it

* The Porte is the palace in which the Vizir reſides: in it all the archives are kept, and all public buſineſs tranſacted.

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the conſideration was, how to place it on the former ſpot, and at the ſame time render the ſituation ſecure from a like accident for the future.

The method determined on, was, to leave a ſufficient void ſpace about it, and for that end to purchaſe and demoliſh ſeveral houſes that were contiguous. Moſt owners ſubmitted to a ſale; but there was one old woman who declared ſhe could not, and would not, part with hers; that it had been a property in her family for ſeveral generations, and no money could compenſate the infinite value it was of to her: no offer tempted her, no threats could avail. The men in power cried out and abuſed her; but the injuſtice appeared too violent to dare take it by force; the houſe ſtood; and when it was aſked why the Sultan did not uſe

his

his authority? take it, and pay the value? the anſwer was, *'Tis impoſſible, it cannot be done, it is her property.*

NOTWITHSTANDING the tranſcendant expreſſions the Turks uſe when ſpeaking of their Sovereign, they will frequently murmur, talk freely, abuſe him and his miniſters, throw anonymous ſcurrilous papers into the moſchees, and ſeem ever ripe for rebellion, if outraged by frequent and unuſual oppreſſion and tyranny. They are taught that he is eſtabliſhed by God, that he is a deſcendent of their prophet, thro' whoſe mediation they expect ſalvation; and yet in a moment they will deprive him of his throne, of his liberty, and even of his life.

THIS may appear only a ſingle inſtance of the immenſe number of ſeeming

ing contradictions in the compoſition of human nature: though, indeed, were it ſo, it might with other ſuch inſtances be accounted for, by what a ſagacious * free writer has attempted to prove, that men do not generally act according to principles.

ALTHOUGH I think his propoſition too general, it is, I fear, in great part true; for, that there are many men who do not act according to principle, is but too evident: this might therefore, in appearance, furniſh a ſolution; but here would be miſapplied and inſufficient; for the whole of what Turks are taught relating to government, is not taken into the caſe; and therefore the fact is not fairly repreſented.

FOR they learn very early, that if the prince is of right divine, he founds it

* Bayle.

on

on the *Koran*; that he is conſtituted ſuch by that ſacred code of laws; which as a true believer he has ſtudied, and knew, before his acceſſion to the throne, it would ever be his duty to obſerve; and that, conſequently, he is as much bound and tied by all thoſe laws, as they themſelves are.

THIS is ſo explicitly and fully laid down in the *Koran*, that Mahomet thought it neceſſary to throw in rules of exception expreſly for himſelf.

HENCE when the people are notoriouſly aggrieved; their property, or that of the church, repeatedly violated; when the prince will riot in blood, or carry on an unſucceſsful war; they appeal *to Law*, pronounce him an infidel, a tyrant, unjuſt, incapable to govern; and, in conſequence, depoſe and impriſon, or deſtroy him.

THEY,

They, it is true, conſult firſt their own power, or the probability of ſucceſs, rather than the rectitude of the action, but always under the ſanction of the law, directed by ſome one of the legiſlature; and it may be affirmed, that no example will be found of the depoſition of a Sultan in Turky, but a form of law, either true or falſe, has been obſerved: nay, it ſeems abſolutely neceſſary; for it has always been practiſed, that either the *Mufti*, or * the *Nakib of Santa Sophia*, or of *Eiup*, or at leaſt, ſome diſtinguiſhed man of the law, ſhould enter the Seraglio, or tent, and even declare the reaſons of the depoſition to the very Sultan; announcing to him why by law he is unworthy and incapable of reigning.

* Head, or director of the moſchees, who are emirs or deſcendents of Mahomet.

FEAR obliges the Turks to paſſive obedience, merely as diſunited individuals: then they only talk;—but when once the burthen of ills accumulate and extend, they find a chief; the law and ſoldiery join with the people as in a common intereſt, and depoſe the oppreſſor; but always place on the throne his lawful ſucceſſor.

THIS ſingle undoubted practice of taking the *lawful Succeſſor* proves they ſeek the ſanction of *law*; and I muſt obſerve what perhaps is undoubtedly true, wherever it has not been mere uſurped temporary power, the like has been practiſed in all governments.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

History of the Vizir Ragib Mehemet Pashaw's government.

THE death of the chief Black gave a ſudden change to the interior of the Turkiſh government, and may be conſidered as a new æra in their conſtitution. This circumſtance, however, is little known, and leſs noticed: what therefore ſucceeded, and the advantages taken from that event by the Vizir, to eſtabliſh his own abſolute power, may be worth relating.

THE new *Kiſlar-Aga*, intimidated by the tragical end of his predeceſſor, conducted himſelf with great caution; he ſeemed to conſult frequently with the Vizir, and enter into cloſer connexions with him: this continued until the year 1754.

It was then that, on the demiſe of Sultan Machmut, his brother Oſman aſcended the throne. This prince, according to the maxims of Turkiſh policy, had been continually confined; and now came forth new into the world at the age of fifty-ſix, a perfect ſtranger to mankind. On this event, the Black *Kiſlar-Aga* began to aſſume more power, and with his party, compoſed of ſome without, and ſome within the Seraglio, to make and depoſe Vizirs as they pleaſed. His power within the Seraglio is entirely free from controul, except from his ſecretary the *Jazigi Effendi*, who generally gains credit with the Grand Seignor: in theſe two, and a few of their adherents, the whole power of government centered.

On the death of Oſman, in the year 1757, the Vizir Mehemet Ragib Paſ-

cha, who had the ſeals, happened to be the ableſt, and moſt ſubtle man of the Turkiſh empire. His office led him to place Sultan Muſtapha on the throne: he had either formed a ſecret connexion with that prince before, or captivated his affection then, by his obſequiouſneſs, learning, and eloquence; ſo that he became at once his friend and confidant, and ſet the office of Vizir on its ancient footing of abſolute miniſter with abſolute power.

The Sultan, to attach this miniſter more effectually to his perſon, obliged him to repudiate an amiable young lady his wife, and to marry the princeſs his ſiſter; a widow, whoſe perſon, and advanced years, rendered her an object incapable of exciting the tender paſſions.

Musta-

MUSTAPHA, the preſent Sultan, of whom we are now ſpeaking, is a ſon of Achmet, who was depoſed in 1730. The two brothers Machmut and Oſman, who had reigned from the time of that depoſition till the acceſſion of Muſtapha, were deſcendants of Achmet's brother.

FILIAL duty operates with great force on Mahometans; they commonly, I might ſay invariably, make a point of imitating their fathers; and quote the life and actions of their progenitors as the only models they ought to follow.

THIS prince, therefore, looked on all and every regulation introduced ſince his father's depoſition, or which deviated from the practice of his anceſtors, as inſufferable innovations; and the reigns of his two couſins appeared to him full of abuſes and irregularities.

The Vizir took care to confirm him in theſe ideas, and to point out the abuſes; exclaiming againſt them as deviations not only from the practice of his father, but from the ancient Mahometan rule or canon of government: he carried him up to the time of Solyman I. by ſome called the Magnificent, by them the Lawgiver; and did not fail to repreſent the power given to the *Kiſlar-Aga*, a wild, ignorant black ſlave, as the ſource of thoſe and all other attendant evils; that the authority uſurped within the Seraglio, and the iniquitous intrigues always forming there, deſtroyed the wiſeſt meaſures of the Porte; and that the true original eſtabliſhment of the empire, was the abſolute power of the Vizir.

The Black who ſucceeded *Bekir-Aga* ſtill continued in power. On ſeveral occaſions

caſions he had ſhewn himſelf no friend to the Vizir, who, nevertheleſs, had ſupported himſelf, during the few months he governed in Sultan Oſman's reign, by means of the *Jazigi Effendi*; he found himſelf, however, continually tottering, and called himſelf publickly, a ſtranger who muſt prepare to remove. Turks never forgive: the Vizir's ability and art were therefore immediately employed to ſatisfy his revenge, by puniſhing this enemy. The Black was condemned to exile; and on the fatal diſaſter of the Mecca caravan, his head was ſtruck off, and brought to Conſtantinople, as a compenſation he owed to the people for being the original cauſe of that ſacrilege.

The power of miniſters in this, as in many other countries, is in proportion to the emoluments of their office,

and the conſequent riches and number of their dependants.

THE *Harem*, or ladies of the Seraglio, have a vaſt revenue aſſigned them for their ſupport and maintenance: this conſiſts in large diſtricts of lands, and conſiderable towns, in Europe and Aſia, and is called the *Haremai*. The abſolute independent government and direction of theſe revenues, which amount to thoſe of a kingdom, were intirely in the diſpoſition of the black *Kiſlar-Aga*. He received the whole, accountable to no one; in all affairs relating to the *Haremai*, he held the Divans, diſtributed juſtice; cauſes, criminal and civil, came before him; he named the governors, and all the other magiſtrates, civil and military; no one dared contradict him, or interfere with him in the government of thoſe places al-

lotted for the maintenance of the *Harem.*

The difficulty was how to eradicate this part of the conſtitution; but Ragib Mehemet Paſcha's reſources never failed him: his knowledge of their hiſtory, his fertile genius and eloquence, had captivated the Grand Seignor, who was ſoon perſuaded that this power of the Black Eunuch over the *Haremai*, was the ſource of his crimes; that government ſhould be more ſimple; and that even the buſineſs of the *Haremai* ſhould, as a principal and eſſential part, be annexed to the Vizir's office: in ſhort, he got it intirely out of the hands of the Seraglio, and brought it into his own; ſubſtituting a Black of his own choice, whom he rendered ſubſervient to all his views; ſo that one might truly ſay, he re-modelled that

part of government, and brought the whole empire under his own abſolute power.

I COULD not help often comparing this Vizir's art of governing, with that of Tiberius. In cunning, deceit, and jealouſy, he exceeded him; and where he found a competitor, or one who might endanger his own ſecurity, his cruelty perhaps was not leſs.

A *Teſterdar*, or high-treaſurer, a man of unbounded generoſity, and uncommon ſublimity of ſentiment, occupied that poſt for the ſecond time while Ragib was Vizir, and had gained vaſt popularity. The Vizir heard him continually praiſed: this was a ſufficient reaſon to excite his jealouſy. He ordered a reviſion of accounts; found him, as he pretended, deficient; and procured his exile; at the ſame time

time complaining of the loſs he ſuſtained by the *Teſterdar*'s removal. Nor did the Vizir's hatred ſtop here; it followed him in his exile, and was not appeaſed but by his blood: he had his head cut off, proteſting all the while againſt ſuch cruel juſtice, crying and lamenting as for his friend's hard fate; cenſuring the Grand Seignor's rigour and too inflexible ſeverity, exerciſed on ſo able and amiable a man, for a crime ſo common, and for which an atonement was ſo eaſily made.

With all his credit and power, he never in the leaſt attempted to conteſt the Grand Seignor's will. Subſervient to it, he advanced to the high and important poſt of *Mufti*, one *Veli Effendi*, a bold loquacious man, much reſpected in the law. This man was not long in his poſt, before he was obſerved to med-

meddle in politics, and was thought to vie in power with the Vizir.

The Vizir, who had taken an affection to the interpreter of the Porte, resolved to make a change of princes, or *Vaywodes*, in Moldavia and Walachia; and to confer one of those dignities on the interpreter. The Sultan agreed to it; the interpreter was nominated to this promotion; and the honours to be conferred on him on that occasion were prepared: but the *Mufti*, who patronized another, a deposed prince, came between, and mentioned him to the Grand Seignor as the propereſt person; heightening his commendation with uncommon praises.

The Sultan mentioned this recommendation to the Vizir; that minister immediately confirmed it, and submitted to alter his whole plan.

The

THE interpreter was laid aſide, and the *Mufti* had the ſatisfaction to find his recommendation effectual.

THE Vizir's uſual Turkiſh Proverb was, that "you muſt hunt the hare in a cart:" that is, Do your buſineſs covertly, and avoid precipitation. He received the new prince as if this promotion was his own act, and the new prince his own creature: all went on, ſeemingly, in perfect harmony with the *Mufti*, for near three months. At length a rumour was induſtriouſly ſpread round the town, as if the *Mufti* had taken one hundred purſes of money for his recommendation; but if this did not reach the Grand Seignor, it failed in its intended effect: the point was how to convey it to him.

THIS

THIS prince, as is cuſtomary in Turkey, frequently went about incognito, diſguiſed as a common man; and introduced himſelf into coffee-houſes to hear what the people ſaid of himſelf and his miniſters.

IT was to one of thoſe houſes in * *Eiup*, that he more particularly reſorted: here the Vizir ſet ſome of his people, and inſtructed them in the language, which, on the Sultan's entrance, they ſhould hold in his hearing. One of them began with ſaying, "they were bleſt with the wiſeſt, juſteſt, and beſt of princes, and wiſhed that his miniſters reſembled him; but what could they hope, when the chief of their religion and law was ſo venal and infamous as to be corrupted by infi-

* A ſuburb near his ſummer palace.

dels?

dels? that the *Mufti* had received a hundred purſes of money to raiſe a miſerable infidel to the dignity of prince of Walachia; and if ſuch abominations were ſuffered, and that the Grand Seignor ſhould not be informed of them, the empire would ſoon fall into ruin and deſtruction." The whole company joined in the accuſation: the Grand Seignor alarmed, ſlipt out, went to the Vizir, and ordered him to depoſe the *Mufti* immediately.

The Vizir expoſtulated; he told his majeſty, that ſuch reports ſhould be received with diffidence; that people were often miſinformed, and always diſpoſed to be cenſorious and impertinent; that this report was certainly not to be truſted; that the *Mufti* was too holy, too virtuous a man to be guilty of ſuch wickedneſs;

and conjured him, at leaſt, to ſuſpend his indignation until he could more truly and preciſely verify the fact.

His exhortations and intreaties pacified the monarch for the preſent, until the ſubtle miniſter poſted a new group in another Coffee-houſe, to repeat the accuſation, with additional aggravations againſt the *Mufti*. The firſt was then confirmed beyond a doubt; the prince would no longer ſuffer a delay, but ordered the *Mufti* into immediate baniſhment, to a moſt diſagreeable ſituation at Synope on the Black Sea.

The Vizir appeared to all his friends under the utmoſt concern at this event. The *Mufti* applied to him with moſt fervent entreaties, to have the place of ba-

baniſhment changed, and that his departure might not be ſo inſtantaneous: the miniſter repreſented the difficulty of prevailing with an irritated, paſſionate, juſt prince. However, he promiſed to uſe all his intereſt to mitigate the ſentence, and that he would, as effectually as poſſible, implore his majeſty's clemency.

He ſuffered the *Mufti* to remain a day or two at a country-houſe on the Boſphorus; and afterwards obtained for him, what this diſgraced man and his friends ſo ardently deſired, the place of his baniſhment to be changed from Synope to Bruſia.

Thus after giving him a fatal blow, he yet reſerved to himſelf the merit of having moſt eſſentially ſerved him.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Change of Vizirs.—Order of Buſineſs.—Policy of Turk Miniſters.

THE change of Vizirs, and ſometimes, though rarely, their execution, has brought on a general prejudice, and been produced as an argument of the inſtability and diſorder of the Turkiſh government: Sultan Machmut, as I have obſerved, introduced that change as a maxim of ſtate, and was the firſt who methodically practiſed it.

SOME who were of the very loweſt claſs of men, ſeveral of whom could not write or read, have occupied that high office; yet the order of government, and the clue of buſineſs, has not been a moment interrupted. Another maxim

maxim more certain and ſalutary preſerves government in its equal regular courſe; for ſubalterns in office are religiouſly continued, and generally on changes advanced: ſo that thoſe who are many years trained and practiſed in the buſineſs, become the Vizir's amanuenſes and inſtructors. Hence, any new Vizir is ſoon maſter of the modes of government; or if he is not, as to the moſt difficult and intricate parts, he is ſo far at leaſt as to keep the empire and the capital city in quiet, the men of the law in good humour, and to maſter the ſoldiery; the which, perhaps, are the chief and moſt important ends of his great power. By this proceeding of government, no mutation of the higher officers ever affects the whole; ſo that when we read of a * *Chiaia* to the Vizir, a † *Reis Ef-*

* Second in power to the Vizir.
† Secretary of State.

fendi, a * *Chiaous Paſchy*, depoſed, the ſpirit of the office remains, and the buſineſs ſtill goes on in its proper courſe.

THE clerks and under-clerks are almoſt innumerable. Some hundreds of hands are kept conſtantly at work at the Porte, and each of them with the leaſt talents or genius aſpire to ſome of the higheſt dignities; keep their eye immediately fixed for years on the office they hope to fill; and by an obſtinate perſeverance, and never moving out of that courſe, they frequently attain their end.

THERE is no Chriſtian power can vie with the Porte, for care and exactneſs in their ſeveral offices: buſineſs is done with the greateſt accuracy: in any important writing words are weigh-

* Marſhal of the Court.

ed,

ed, and that ſignification conſtantly taken, which may moſt conduce to their own advantage.

PAPERS of the remoteſt date, if ſingly the year of the tranſaction is known, may be found at the Porte; every command granted at that time, and every regulation then made, can be immediately produced.

THE rule which government follows in the explanation of treaties, or capitulations, or conceſſions granted to Chriſtian princes, or in many other caſes, is *Precedent*; the remoter the example, the more reſpectable; and moſt ſo, what they call the *Ancient Canon*: any political ſuit in doubt, or depending between themſelves and the Chriſtian Powers, may be immediately determined by producing Precedent.

The French ambaſſadors have often pretended ſuperiority of rank at the Porte: the Turks have as ſolemnly declared to others the nullity of their pretenſions, and that all ambaſſadors are on the ſame footing. But as the publick audiences are by rotation, ſome one muſt begin, and be the firſt: hence they take the prime occupant, the firſt ambaſſador who was eſtabliſhed in their country; and this is the ſingle reaſon why the French have the priority in point of time at audiences, but they have none of order or pre-eminence.

When they have a mind to expedite buſineſs at the Porte, or that it is agreeable to them, no people do it with a greater celerity; when the contrary, they will as artfully protract or delay: numberleſs excuſes, good and

bad, are ready; it may remain ſuſpended for months or years.

The idol the Turks worſhip is gold; and in all common affairs their ears are opened by that powerful deity. If that is not made uſe of, the claim of right, engagements, capitulations, or treaties, have often and generally no effect; ſome maſter hand muſt feel the weight of this ſpecious golden argument: but then they are often generous enough to truſt to a conditional promiſe, and are content with the fee after the completion of the buſineſs.

The policy of every Turkiſh miniſter has himſelf for its firſt object; they ſtudy ſolely their own ſecurity and permanency in office: this is the only ſyſtem they are to be taken with. It is in vain to talk of the intereſt of

the empire, either preſent or future; the queſtion to themſelves is, Can I be ſafe? Can I hold power? If therefore matters of high conſequence, of peace or war, are propounded to them; if the one or the other does not coincide, perfectly, with the preſervation of their own power, and eſpecially their perſonal ſafety, all the money in the univerſe will not move them.

Some time after the acceſſion of Sultan Oſman to the throne, the Vizir who had handed him to it, found his credit fallen with that prince; that others had the royal confidence, and were plotting and intriguing his depoſition.

Educated in the Seraglio, he was no ſtranger to its intrigues, and aſſiduouſly endeavoured to counterwork his

his enemies; but the mines he had laid were generally ſprung againſt himſelf; ſo that he found his ruin inevitable.

THE *Reis Effendi* under him was a haughty ſtern Muſſulman; the name of a Chriſtian ſeemed adverſe to his very nature; and every paſſion was excited, if the leaſt miſunderſtanding aroſe between the Porte and any of the neighbouring powers.

THE Vizir, in full vigour of age, thought he could make a proper uſe of this zealous ſecretary of ſtate, whoſe fiery temper, he ſaw, might readily be prompted to plunge the Porte into a war, and war he ardently wiſhed for: it ſeemed the moſt effectual means by which he might preſerve himſelf, augment his ſway of power, and, at the

head of an army, command even the Grand Seignor, and effectually cruſh his own enemies.

THERE had been trivial diſputes and bickerings with a neighbouring Chriſtian court, and ſome ſerious altercations; but the Sultan's temper, diſpoſition, or political maxims, had led him rather to paſs over than to reſent them.

THE diſputes were known to the Vizir; he found them proper materials to work on the innate hatred the *Reis Effendi* bore to Chriſtians, and the contempt in which he held them; and give him a welcome occaſion to declare his ardent zeal for the honour and glory of Muſſulmaniſm and the Sultan. To this man therefore he opened this contentious affair, loading it with

every

every aggravating circumſtance; yet, feigning to ſoften the fury of his paſſion, though he knew it was rather the moſt effectual means to excite it, he thus brought him to become his ſtalking-horſe in the Seraglio; ſet them all in a rage, not excepting the Sultan himſelf; and brought them from threats and menaces almoſt to action.

The Vizir prepared to put himſelf at the head of the army, to attack that power by whom they were, as the Grand Seignor and *Reis Effendi* pretended, ſo ſcandalouſly and ignominiouſly inſulted.

The junto who managed this great affair at the Porte, conſiſted of five perſons: the zealous ſecretary of ſtate always took the lead; the Vizir, ſubmiſſive to the will of the ſovereign, ſimply ap-

approved; though when commands were made out for the troops to aſſemble, he expreſſed himſelf to his confidants with the greateſt ſatisfaction and joy.

But, at length, one of the junto opened the ſcene to a foreign miniſter, to whom the negotiation had been entruſted; told him the eaſy means by which the Grand Seignor and *Reis Effendi* would be ſatisfied, the Vizir diſappointed, and the empire preſerved in peace.

That foreign miniſter made a proper uſe of it; ſtopped for the moment, at the riſque of his own life or ſafety, the precipitancy and fury with which they were carrying on their revenge; and as what they required was more honourable for the other court to grant, than for them to accept, the whole af-

fair was adjuſted with almoſt a ſingle word. The Vizir was ſoon after depoſed and exiled.

THUS ended a violent, precipitate, turbulent negotiation, which laſted a conſiderable time; entirely ſet on foot by one man's luſt of power, who, to ſecure that, and his dignity, or to perpetrate his revenge on a few, would have been the cauſe, perhaps, of the deſtruction of his country, but certainly of many thouſands of his fellow-creatures and fellow-ſubjects.

THIS perſonal policy has frequently manifeſted itſelf in leſſer matters. Their diſtant governors often aſpire to independency, and obtain it. At Babylon, Achmet enjoyed this uſurped plenitude of power for ſeveral years; and what is more extraordinary, his ſon ſucceeded him,

him, with undiminiſhed authority, undiſturbed by the Vizir, and died a natural death in his government. Not long after, his ſon-in-law Solyman Paſchaw poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſame poſt, and maintained the ſame independence. They diſregarded the Sultan's commands; and though they always anſwered in terms of reſpect and ſubmiſſion, they always acted according to their own will. The Vizirs choſe rather tamely to ſubmit to this inſolent treatment, than by reſenting it to excite rebellion or riſk their own ſecurity, and therefore contented themſelves with their mere external profeſſions of obedience.

Another remote governor has ſupported himſelf on the ſame footing for many years; but as he is worſe circumſtanced, and not ſo thoroughly ſecure, he muſt therefore ſeek ſome un-

underhand protection in the Seraglio, or at the Porte.

On the death of the Chief Black and his adherents, that protection was loſt; he applied at Conſtantinople to ſecure in his intereſt a *Reis Effendi* of ſordid venality: for this purpoſe he furniſhed a credit for a conſiderable ſum, and, moreover, promiſed twenty-four of the fineſt Arabian horſes for the Vizir and his miniſter. The perſon entruſted ſent one to ſound the *Reis Effendi*; for ſuch meſſages are always grateful. On his return, he reported that he left him heſitating, but diſpoſed to accept: it was then thought proper to tempt him with a part of the bribe. The meſſenger was again diſpatched to him with a large bag, ſealed. The *Effendi* took the money, put it into his boſom, muſed, rubbed his head, ſtroked

ſtroked his beard; but at length, drawing the meſſenger cloſe to him, told him in a whiſper, he was obliged to him and his principal for intermeddling: he knew that taking the money from them was ſafe; but from the other, the governor who ſought protection, it might be dangerous to himſelf, he could not truſt him: he then returned the bag, adding, that ſuch a ſtep required much reflection. He never would receive the money; ſo that the governor was obliged to ſeek other protection; and muſt have found it; for he exiſts ſtill with his uſual independency.

END of the FIRST VOLUME.